

# Fazang's *Huayan jing* Memoirs and Wutaishan Worship

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This is a comparative study of two important texts on Wutaishan worship in Tang China. The paper analyzes relevant passages from Huixiang's *Gu qingliang zhuan* and Fazang's *Huayan jing zhuanji* and argues that the former preceded and influenced the latter. As Dr. Yoshizu Yoshihide has earlier argued, Fazang's aim in writing his volume was to propagate faith in the *Huayan Sutra* while aligning himself with the ambitions of Empress Wu Zetian. The conclusion drawn from the comparative analysis suggests that Fazang's politico-religious intentions may have limited his view in understanding the profound teaching of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) that can be seen in the *Gu qingliang zhuan*.

**Keywords** Fazang, *Huayan jing zhuanji*, *Gu qingliang zhuan*, Wutaishan, Empress Wu Zetian

## Introduction

The *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經伝記 (hereafter *Huayan jing Memoirs*) by Fazang 法藏 (643–712) is a collection of auspicious anecdotes related to the *Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經. Hereafter *Huayan jing*) and includes accounts of Buddhist practitioners on Wutaishan 五台山, also known as Qingliangshan 清涼山, which had been regarded since the early Tang as the abode of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva (Wenshu pusa 文殊菩薩). However, the sources of the stories are not always clear, and Fazang's own views on the stories from Wutaishan also need to be examined. The *Huayan jing Memoirs* stands out among the writings of Fazang as a unique piece of work which hardly has any doctrinal discourse on his theoretical ideas on the *Huayan jing*, which he expounded in great detail and scope in many of his other writings. Yoshizu Yoshihide has pointed out that this work

by the Huayan School patriarch includes lavish praise of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天, giving it a “public nature” (oyake no seikaku 公の性格) and that Fazang effectively declares through this work his establishment of the Huayan School.<sup>(1)</sup> I have earlier argued that Fazang’s interest in Wutaishan shown in the *Huayan jing Memoirs* (and nowhere else except for some brief recapitulations in his *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 [hereafter *Tanxuan ji*]) can be understood in line with Yoshizu’s claim: it can be taken as Fazang’s attempt to align himself with the politico-religious interests of Empress Wu.<sup>(2)</sup> The present study is a development of this earlier view and examines the sources and characteristics of the stories from Wutaishan in the *Huayan jing Memoirs*. The focus will be on comparison with another well-known collection of auspicious anecdotes related to Wutaishan: the *Qingliangshan zhuan* 清涼山伝 (popularly known as the *Gu qingliang zhuan* 古清涼伝 [hereafter the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*]) by Huixiang 慧祥.

This study will further build on Yoshizu’s reading of the *Huayan jing Memoirs*. However, one revision will be made to his argument by positing that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* predates Fazang’s *Huayan jing Memoirs* <sup>(3)</sup> (Yoshizu, to the contrary, says that the latter influenced the former). This paper aims to establish this position by examining the period of authorship and relevant passages of the two works from multiple viewpoints. By taking Fazang’s *Memoirs* as a later work than Huixiang’s, Fazang’s limited perspective on Wutaishan worship owing to his politico-religious intentions should come to light.

## 1. Period of Authorship of the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and the *Huayan jing Memoirs*

In this section, the period of authorship of the above two works will be examined. Here, they will be examined separately, focusing on passages from the texts and on past studies. Comparison of the two works will be conducted in the next section with the aim of determining which of the two is an earlier creation.

### 1.1 The *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

The *Old Qingliang Memoirs* is generally regarded as a work by Huixiang, but as we shall see later, his biographical information is fragmentary, and not much can be known for certain about his life. The *Old Qingliang Memoirs* in two fascicles consists of the following chapters:

First Fascicle: Chapter 1. Explanation of Name and Merits 立名標化一

Chapter 2. Extent and Mileage of the Area 封域里数二

Chapter 3. Superior Sites, Old and New 古今勝跡三

Second Fascicle: Chapter 4. Pilgrimage and Auspicious Signs 遊礼感通四

Chapter 5. Secondary Currents and Disparate Accounts 支流雜述五

The first two chapters explain the basic geographical and historical features of Wutaishan. The auspicious anecdotes of practitioners appear in the last three chapters. There, we find multiple references to dates and other useful accounts that shed light on the period during which this work was authored. First, we will survey those passages, after which we will examine the results of earlier studies by researchers.

1.1.1 Dates Mentioned in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

The first notable passage makes reference to Huixiang's own trips to Wutaishan. In his account of the life story of an Indian monk Śākyamitra 釈迦蜜多羅, Huixiang states that he visited Wutaishan together with Śākyamitra and his entourage of forty laborers and some fifty monks and lay people in the second year of Qianfeng 乾封, 667CE.<sup>(4)</sup> Śākyamitra had come to China during the Linde 麟德 era (664–665) and had wished “to visit Qingliang to worship Mañjuśrī.”<sup>(5)</sup> Huixiang then made a second trip with a fellow monk Zhizheng 智正 and others to offer three reliquary boxes to stupas on the Middle Platform Peak 中台 of Wutaishan. This was in April of the second year of Zongzhang 總章, 669. This time, he stayed there for two years before returning to the capital.<sup>(6)</sup> This passage on Śākyamitra is naturally considerably longer and far more detailed than Fazang's passage on the same Indian monk.<sup>(7)</sup> Huixiang mentions Śākyamitra and the entourage having auspicious experiences such as seeing a sudden apparition of a mysterious godly monk standing atop a cliff, hearing the sound of temple bells, and noticing graceful fragrance near the mountain peak.<sup>(8)</sup> The account of his trips to Wutaishan is one of the most personal and memorable passages in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. It leads us to imagine that authorship took place not too long afterwards.

However, it seems that it did take some time for Huixiang to write, or at least complete, the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*, for the latest date mentioned in this work is the first year of Tiaolu 調露, 679. This was when the monk Huizang 惠藏 of Luoyang visited Wutaishan.<sup>(9)</sup> Another passage of note is the short statement as follows:

In September of the first year of Linde of the present Emperor, [the Emperor] sent Yinzhen and Wanfu on post horses to this mountain to look for chrysanthemums.

今上麟德元年九月，遣使殷甄万福，乘馭向此山探菊。 [T51, 1094c].

The “present Emperor” (*jīnshang* 今上) who was on the throne during the Linde era is

Gaozong 高宗. This means that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* was written sometime between 679 and the end of Gaozong's reign (683) or very shortly afterwards. Technically, it is possible to imagine that Huixiang continued to revise it even after Gaozong's death. However, there is no reference to any anecdote or historical event that took place after Gaozong's reign, and there is no evidence of revisions to the text at a later date.<sup>(10)</sup>

### 1.1.2 Past Studies on Huixiang and the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

These dates have also been noted in past studies on the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. Here, let us look back on examinations by Hatani Ryotai and Ogasawara Senshu. Ibuki Atsushi acknowledges that they revealed a great deal on the deeds of Huixiang.<sup>(11)</sup> However, in this paper, the focus will be limited to their views on the period of authorship of the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*.

Based on the passage on the “present Emperor” mentioned above, Hatani noted that Huixiang lived during the reign of Gaozong. Hatani does not give a specific period, but speculates that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* must have been written during Huixiang's prime of manhood. According to Hatani, this is because an event of the year 706, at least over two decades later, is mentioned in his later work the *Hongzan fahua zhuan* 弘贊法華伝 (hereafter *Vast Praise of the Lotus Memoirs*),<sup>(12)</sup> a compilation of life stories of practitioners of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經. Hereafter *Fahua jing*), which, according to Hatani, is a work in Huixiang's old age.

Ogasawara, after noting on the last date mentioned in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*, 679, pointed out that this work fails to mention that Buddhapāli 仏陀波利 from Kashmir who translated the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya Dhāraṇī Sūtra* 仏頂尊勝陀羅尼經 went on pilgrimage to Wutaishan in 676 and 683. From this, he presumed that Huixiang had completed the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* before 683. This coincides with the end of Gaozong's reign (which Ogasawara does not mention), and leads to much the same conclusion as that gained from our examination. However, Kamata Shigeo has cast doubts on the authenticity of the story of Buddhapāli<sup>(13)</sup> and it is doubtful if it can be taken as a reliable source in speculating the date of Huixiang's authorship.

Ibuki Atsushi built on what studies by Hatani and Ogasawara revealed, and further, made use of another work by Huixiang, the *Shimen zijing lu* 釈門自鏡錄<sup>(14)</sup> to reconstruct a basic chronology of Huixiang's life. He placed Huixiang's birth between 639 and 645; creation of the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* between 679 and 684 around the age of 35 to 45; *Shimen zijing lu* between 698 and 704; and authorship of the *Vast Praise of the Lotus*

*Memoirs* shortly after 706 after turning 62 years of age.

As we can see, in speculating the period of creation of the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*, most scholars base their argument on two facts found in the text: (1) the year 679 is the latest year mentioned, (2) it refers to Emperor Gaozong as the “present Emperor.” In addition, Choi Bok Hee notes that the citation from the *Huayan jing* on the Qingliang Mountain being the abode of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva is taken from the Jin dynasty translation in sixty volumes (translated between 418 and 420) rather than the Tang dynasty translation in eighty volumes (translated between 695 and 699). Choi gives this as evidence that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* predates the Tang translation of the *Huayan jing* <sup>(15)</sup> (the relevant passages are given in Appendix I).

We can say that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* is generally accepted as a product of the late seventh century. <sup>(16)</sup>

## 1.2 The *Huayan jing* Memoirs

The *Huayan jing* Memoirs in five fascicles consists of ten chapters. The sixth chapter in two fascicles records the deeds of monks who specialized in studying and lecturing on the *Huayan jing*. In terms of content and volume, this chapter can be seen as the main body of this work and sheds light on Fazang’s motivation. The chapters are structured as follows:

First Fascicle: Chapter 1. Types of Texts [of the *Huayan jing*] 部類第一

Chapter 2. Hidden and Apparent [texts] 隱顯第二

Chapter 3. Transmission and Translation 伝訳第三

Chapter 4. Secondary Currents 支流第四

Chapter 5. Treatises and Exegeses 論釈第五

Second Fascicle: Chapter 6. Lecturers Part 1 講解第六上

Third Fascicle: Chapter 6. Lecturers Part 2 講解第六下

Fourth Fascicle: Chapter 7. Chanting 諷誦第七

Chapter 8. Recitation 転読第八

Fifth Fascicle: Chapter 9. Transcription 書写第九

Chapter 10. Disparate Accounts 雜述第十

The first three chapters explain the historical facts related to the *Huayan jing* and the fourth lists translations of other sutras that are mostly variants of certain chapters of the *Huayan jing*. Accounts of auspicious stories appear in the remaining chapters. Yoshizu notes that Fazang’s main focus is on the life story of Zhiyan 智儼 in the sixth chapter and contends that it forms the crux of this work. <sup>(17)</sup>

### 1.2.1 Dates Mentioned in the *Huayan jing Memoirs*

Records on exactly when the *Huayan jing Memoirs* was written, revised, and took its present form do not exist. The latest account found in the text itself is the life story of Śikṣānanda 実叉難陀 (652–710) who was the leader of the Tang translation project of the *Huayan jing* in eighty volumes in which Fazang also took part. However, Yoshizu believes this particular section was added to the work after Śikṣānanda's death, and that Fazang continued to revise the *Huayan jing Memoirs* almost until his own death in 712.<sup>(18)</sup>

Then when did Fazang start working on the *Huayan jing Memoirs*? We must take note that in one passage, here too, Gaozong is called “the present Emperor” (*jinshang* 今上).<sup>(19)</sup> This passage has close resemblance with the passage earlier cited from the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. In the *Huayan jing Memoirs* it appears in the final part of the life story of Jietuo 解脫 which we shall examine in more detail later.

In September of the first year of Linde of the present Emperor, [the Emperor] gave Imperial orders to Huiyi of Huichang si and *guoyi* [military officer] Zhen Wanfu to offer monastic robes to the remains [of Jietuo] and additionally to head to the various platform peaks [of Wutaishan] to offer services in reverence of the sacred sites.

今上麟德元年九月，勅会昌寺沙門会頤，果毅甄万福，送衲袈裟，奉其遺陰。并向諸台，供養聖迹。 [T51, 169c]<sup>(20)</sup>

This passage leads us to believe that the original version of the *Huayan jing Memoirs* was compiled during Gaozong's reign. However, the situation is not so simple. Let us turn to Yoshizu's analysis and examine his main contentions.

### 1.2.2 Fazang's Motivation Behind his Authorship

Yoshizu puts the authorship of the *Huayan jing Memoirs* between 689 or 690 and Fazang's death in 712. His analysis is based on two perspectives: cross-referencing of Fazang's writings and content analysis of the *Huayan jing Memoirs* itself.

First, he notes that the *Huayan jing Memoirs* is mentioned in the first fascicle of Fazang's *Tanxuan ji*. Since the *Tanxuan ji* states that the new translation of the *Huayan jing* by Śikṣānanda is in process, its creation falls between 695 and 699. This means that an early version of the *Huayan jing Memoirs* was already extant before then. Meanwhile, Yoshizu points out that Fazang's *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu* 華嚴經文義綱目 (hereafter *Wenyi gangmu*), written no earlier than 680, refers to the *Huayan jing Memoirs* as “newly compiled” (*zinji* 新集). On the other hand, the *Huayan jing Memoirs* lists the *Wenyi gangmu* among Fazang's own writings, which means the two works were written almost

simultaneously.<sup>(21)</sup> This puts the authorship of the *Huayan jing Memoirs* at sometime between the 680s and early 690s. This does not contradict with our earlier observation that Fazang started working on the *Huayan jing Memoirs* during Gaozong's reign which lasted until 683.

Yoshizu's other core contention is that for Fazang, two significant developments generated the motive for compiling the *Huayan jing Memoirs*. One was the death in 687 of the Indian monk Divākara (612–687. Also known as Rizhao sanzang 日照三藏) whom Fazang revered almost as a “second master” after Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668). The other was the establishment by Empress Wu's Imperial edict of a Practice Hall dedicated to Buddhist practice based on the *Huayan jing* (Huayan gaozuo bahui daochang 華嚴高座八会道場). This was in January of 689, and Fazang offers lavish praise to Empress Wu in the *Huayan jing Memoirs* for this deed of hers, immediately following the life story of his master Zhiyan.<sup>(22)</sup> Yoshizu argues that this shows how the *Huayan jing Memoirs* is not simply a work aimed at expounding theoretical ideas of the Huayan School, but that it has a “public nature,” by which he implies political intentions. He points out that although generally, the *Five Chapters of Lectures on the Huayan jing* (*Huayan wujiao zhang* 華嚴五教章) is regarded as Fazang's declaration of his establishment of the Huayan School, it is rather through this *Huayan jing Memoirs* that he advocates his position.<sup>(23)</sup>

Based on these observations, Yoshizu speculates that Fazang first compiled the *Huayan jing Memoirs* around 689 or 690 and continued to include additional accounts until his death in 712.<sup>(24)</sup>

Yoshizu's analysis clarifies the interrelation between some of Fazang's writings, including the *Huayan jing Memoirs*, which were completed during a period not far apart from each other, and his view on the development of the *Huayan jing Memoirs* after the late 680s is convincing. For example, immediately after describing the death of his master Zhiyan, Fazang recounts the miraculous resuscitation of Kuo Shenliang 廓神亮 during the Yonglong 永隆 era (680–681). He tells how Kuo, after dying of sudden illness, was taken to the abode of Maitreya Bodhisattva 弥勒菩薩 in the Tuṣita Heaven and asked why he did not worship the *Huayan jing*. When Kuo said it was because he knew no one who could lecture him on the sutra, Maitreya refutes that there is, meaning Fazang, and sends him back to life [T51, 516a].<sup>(25)</sup> Here, Fazang effectively appraises himself as the successor to Zhiyan and as the rightful propagator of *Huayan jing* worship. This passage is followed by Fazang's almost extravagant praise of Empress Wu, saying that she “spreads the teaching of the Ten Wholesome Deeds boundlessly, with extreme goodness and extreme beauty,” surpassing all



faiths of the deepest kind from the Han to the Six Dynasties.<sup>(26)</sup> He then goes on to describe the founding in 689 of the Practice Hall based on the *Huayan jing*. This particular part beginning with the life story of Zhiyan takes up almost a full page in the Taisho Daizokyo, that is, five percent of the whole *Huayan jing Memoirs* which includes anecdotes of over forty-five people. The sudden outpouring of Fazang's sense of pride and his praise of Empress Wu stand out among the pages of the volume. As Yoshizu says, we can see how Fazang is exerting himself to put his message through. This part is indeed one of the high points of this work.

However, it leaves us with one problem: Yoshizu's idea does not account for the existence of the reference to Gaozong as "present Emperor" in the *Huayan jing Memoirs*, as we saw earlier. We would need to speculate that Fazang began writing the *Huayan jing Memoirs* at least as early as 683, for some other reason than the strong motivation that the two developments Yoshizu listed may have given Fazang. It is hard to imagine, however, that Fazang's work saw any kind of completion during Gaozong's reign as there are numerous accounts of events which happened after his era.<sup>(27)</sup>

Let us suspend our conclusion for the time being, and move on to a comparative analysis of common stories found in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and the *Huayan jing Memoirs*. Yoshizu has already done this in his own way. He compared the accounts of Jietuo's life story, arguing that Huixiang's account resembles Fazang's rather than that of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (first completed in 645 and revised over the next twenty years. Hereafter *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*) compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667). He concludes that the *Huayan jing Memoirs* (first completed around 689 or 690) influenced the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* whose date of authorship Yoshizu estimated to have been in the eighth century.<sup>(28)</sup>

## 2. Common Stories in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and the *Huayan jing Memoirs*

In the *Huayan jing Memoirs*, stories of seven people have connections with Wutaishan, and all except the two underlined people shown below appear in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*.

Liu Qianzhi 劉謙之, Lingbian 靈弁, Zhiju 智炬, Tanyi 曇義, Jietuo 解脫, Mingyao 明曜, and Śākyamitra 釈迦弥多羅.

Among these, Zhiju's only connection to Wutaishan is that he died on the Northern Platform Peak 北台, therefore his story is of minor significance. Others except Lingbian



and Śākyamitra are included in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*. Both Fazang and Huixiang most probably utilized this to write their *Memoirs*. Although word to word comparisons reveal mixed results as to which of the two books precede the other, a closer look at the content favors the view that Fazang's volume came later. We will examine the relevant passages in this section.

### 2.1.1 Liu Qianzhi and Lingbian

Stories of Liu Qianzhi, a sixth century Northern Qi dynasty eunuch (*huanguan* 宦官) attending to the third Prince, and a sixth century Northern Wei monk, Lingbian, are both included in the fifth chapter "Treatises and Exegeses" of the *Huayan jing Memoirs*, and in the third chapter "Superior Sites, Old and New" of the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. They are depicted in both works as Huayan practitioners who had auspicious results after practicing on Wutaishan as well as writers of exegeses on the *Huayan jing*. Liu Qianzhi recovered his masculine physical form after praising and reciting the *Huayan jing* among the hills of Wutaishan for three weeks. Lingbian continued his walking practice holding the *Huayan jing* in reverence until his feet bled. Both wrote a treatise, which impressed the Imperial household. In both cases, Fazang's account is more detailed and vivid [T51, 1094c; T51, 156c] (see Appendix III).

#### Liu Qianzhi

In the Liu Qianzhi story, Fazang's account closely resembles that of the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* except that Fazang adds a generous praise of Liu for completing an exegesis of the *Huayan jing* and goes on to describe the sacred sites of Wutaishan. Daoxuan's account comes from *Jinyi ji* 旌異記, a Sui dynasty collection of Buddhist anecdotes exemplifying the miraculous. The account in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* roughly corresponds to the *Tang Memoirs* (less exactly than Fazang's account) and also has phrases that match Fazang's but not found in the *Tang Memoirs*. Below are excerpts of relevant passages.

*Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*

Despairing of his physical form owing to punishment, not mixing with people, he made a request to the Emperor for permission to go to the mountains to practice [as a monk]. There was an Imperial edict permitting this and he swiftly took a copy of the *Huayan jing*, recited and worshipped it with penitence day and night without rest.

自慨刑餘, 不逮人族。奏乞入山修道, 有勅許之, 乃齋一部花嚴, 晝夜誦禮悔不息。 [T50, 686b]

*Huayan jing Memoirs*

Despairing of his physical form owing to punishment, also on witnessing the prince burning his body as offering [to the Buddha], he made a request to the Emperor for permission to go to the mountains to practice [as a monk]. There was an Imperial edict of permission, and at last he took a copy of this *Huayan jing*, worshipped it with penitence, reciting it diligently day and night...After three weeks...

既自慨形餘, 又觀王子焚軀之事, 乃奏乞入山修道, 有勅許焉。遂齋此經一部, 晝夜精勤, 禮懺誦誦.... 垂三七日... [T51, 156c]

#### *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

Despairing of his physical form owing to punishment, also moved by the prince burning his body as offering [to the Buddha], he finally made a request to the Emperor for permission to go to the mountains to practice [as a monk]. Permitted by Imperial edict, he so hereby recited the *Huayan jing*, and practiced for three weeks.

自慨刑餘, 又感王子燒身之事。遂奏乞入山修道, 勅許之。乃於此處, 轉誦華嚴經, 三七日行道。 [T51, 1094c]

The most likely conclusion that can be induced from the above comparison is that Fazang based his account on the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* (or the *Jinyi ji*), and that Huixiang in turn, based his account on Fazang's version (hence minor differences exist between the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* and the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*). It is also possible that Fazang and Huixiang respectively took Daoxuan's *Memoirs* (or the *Jinyi ji*) as their source book (Fazang citing more correctly than Huixiang), with one of the two authors adding accounts taken from the counterpart's *Memoirs*. No definite conclusion can be reached from this word to word comparison of the three texts.<sup>(29)</sup>

However, there is a passage worthy of note in Fazang's account that can be taken as a reference to the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. After recounting the story of Liu Qianzhi's miraculous healing and enlightenment, Fazang goes on to explain that Wutaishan is the Qingliangshan which the *Huayan jing* teaches as the abode of Mañjuśrī, then proceeds to describe the geographical features. Following a brief explanation of about twenty lines, Fazang says, "it is as detailed in the *Qingliangshan ji*" (如清涼山記具之) [T51, 157b]. What kind of a document Fazang means by this (*Records of Qingliangshan*) is unclear. Huixiang's work was known as the *Qingliangshan zhuan* 清涼山伝 (*Memoirs of Qingliangshan*) and we know of no other monograph on Wutaishan except the now lost *Qingliangshang Lüezhuan* 清涼山略伝 (*Brief Memoirs of Qingliangshan*). This was a one-volume report of the trips to Wutaishan by Huize 会曠 (or Huiyi 会頤) of Huichang si Temple which was widely circulated among the people of the capital according to Huixiang's account, but presum-

ably shorter.<sup>(30)</sup> Could it not be possible that Fazang called the *Qingliangshan zhuan* by Huixiang the *Qingliangshan ji*?

### Lingbian

Next, let us consider the story of Lingbian's exegesis on the *Huayan jing* mentioned both in the *Huayan jing Memoirs* [T51, 157b-c] and the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* [T51, 1094c]. The story is not found in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* or any other preceding sources we know of. Here, Huixiang's account which directly follows the story of Liu Qianzhi is considerably shorter than Fazang's account. It is given in full below.

Long ago in the first year of Xiping [516] during the reign of Yuan Wei [Northern Wei], there was a monk, Lingbian of Xuanwengshan. Holding this sutra in reverence, he vigorously practiced the way and [the skin of] his feet were torn and they bled. He labored with true heart that he realized enlightenment and understood this scripture clearly in the same way [as Liu Qianzhi], and so wrote a treatise in one hundred fascicles. Now the Emperor Xiaoming invited him to the Shiqiandian [of the Imperial Palace] to propagate the profound meaning [of the *Huayan jing*]. The prime minister and eminent monks followed facing north [towards the Emperor]. The Master, in the month of the New Year of the third year of Zhengguang [522], passed away. He was aged thirty-six. How could this [great deed] not be the result of diligent efforts? He was different from the masses yet harmonized with [and saved] common people.

昔元魏熙平元年，有懸瓮山沙門靈弁。頂戴此經，勇猛行道，足破血流。勤誠感悟，乃同曉茲典，著論一百卷。<sup>(31)</sup>時孝明皇帝，請於式乾殿，敷揚奧旨。宰輔名僧，皆從北面。法師以正光三年正月而卒。時年三十有六。豈非精進所致，異世同塵哉。 [T51, 1094c]

Fazang goes into more detail, and writes that Lingbian was from Taiyuan 太原 and “holding this sutra in reverence,” went to the Qingliang si Temple 清涼寺 of Wutaishan to pray for the compassionate support of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva (乃頂戴此經，入清涼山清涼寺，求文殊師利菩薩哀護授受。 [T51, 157b]). Fazang's account is clearly more detailed and mostly do not correspond to Huixiang's, but some short phrases coincide such as the passage below.

Holding [this sutra] in reverence, he practiced the way that finally after a year, [the skin of] his feet were torn and they bled, and the muscles were lost revealing the bone. Also he proceeded on his knees [in reverence] and earnestly made strenuous efforts, made vows and prayed for profound signs.

頂戴行道，遂歷一年。足破血流，肉盡骨現。又膝步懇策，誓希冥感。 [T51, 157b]

Fazang goes on to describe a slightly different turn of events in that Lingbian hears a voice telling him to stop the walking practice and concentrate his thoughts on the sutra, and on reading the sutra he attains great enlightenment instantly (遂聞一人謂之曰, 汝止行道, 思惟此經. 於是披卷, 豁然大悟. [T51, 157b]). Fazang agrees with Huixiang that Lingbian's enlightenment took place in the year 516, and his death was on January 8, 522, however, he puts the age of death at forty-six as opposed to thirty-six in Huixiang's account. Fazang's description of Lingbian's authorship of a treatise on the *Huayan jing* and the subsequent lecture at the Imperial Palace is also more detailed than Huixiang's account. He states that Lingbian authored an annotated version of his own text. According to Fazang, Lingbian declined the Imperial invitation once, but could not do so the second time, and also gives the year of the lecture at the Imperial Palace as the first year of Shengui 神龜, 518. Fazang mentions that Lingbian lectured on the *Huayan jing* in summer and on the *Large Prajñāpāramitā* in winter, and that he spent five years writing an exegesis of the latter in one hundred fascicles [T51, 157b].

This detailed account by Fazang may be the result of one of three possibilities: (1) that Fazang had a different source of information, (2) that Fazang expanded the story, or (3) that Huixiang digested the story into a more compact form. Of the three, the third possibility seems less likely, as it only lessens the impact and weakens the impression of the story. There is a passage at the end of Lingbian's story that may support the first, second, or both of the possibilities. Fazang recounts an episode not found in Huixiang's book.

Although this treatise was widely circulated in the Fenjin region, it had yet to spread in the capital, and the virtuous people of Chang'an always longed for it. In the second year of Yongchun [683], monk Shi Tongxian of Zhixiang si Temple and lay follower Xuan Shuangfang were at Xuande si Temple and made up their minds to go together on pilgrimage to the Qingliangshan. They prayed that they may worship the saint, Mañjuśrī. Like this, they reached Tongzi si Temple in Bingzhou Province and came across this volume. So they politely made a request and were given [a copy] which they brought to the capital. The whole Imperial city was taken by joyous surprise, and there remained no one who did not wonder at this. At last it was written out and widely circulated.

此論雖盛傳汾晉, 未流京洛, 長安碩德每有延望. 永淳二年, 有至相寺沙門釋通賢及居士玄爽房玄德寺...遂結志同遊, 詣清涼山, 祈禮文殊聖者. 因至并州童子寺見此論本. 乃慇懃固請, 方蒙傳授. 持至京師. 帝輦髦彥, 莫不驚弄. 遂繕寫流通焉. [T51, 157c]

What merits notice here is that Fazang states that Lingbian's hundred-volume book (which was already well-known) was first brought to the capital in the year 683, and that it became widely circulated and immensely popular. We may imagine that new information or anecdotes surrounding the text and its author were also brought to the capital at this time (whether they were historically accurate or not is of no great importance here). However, there is no mention of such rejoicing in Huixiang's *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. If Fazang's account is true, it is strange that Huixiang makes no mention of it if he had been writing his *Old Qingliang Memoirs* around that time or later. Likewise, if Huixiang had based his accounts on Fazang's book, one would imagine that he would have used this passage. An account of Lingbian's treatise receiving enthusiastic welcome would have surely contributed in promoting not only *Huayan jing* worship but also people's keen interest in the sacred mountain of Wutaishan. As mentioned earlier, Huixiang wrote about the popularity in the capital of Huize's *Qingliangshang Lüezhuan*,<sup>(32)</sup> therefore, had he known of the similar welcome of Lingbian's book, it is natural to surmise that he would have incorporated the story in his *Old Qingliang Memoirs*.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* was written before Lingbian's treatise was brought to the capital to eager welcome. This fits our earlier assumption that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* saw completion during the Emperor Gaozong's reign which ended in 683. From this, we can conclude that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* preceded Fazang's *Huayan jing Memoirs*. But did Fazang have Huixiang's *Memoirs* at hand during the authorship of his own *Memoirs*? Earlier, we explored the possibility that the book on Wutaishan which Fazang called *Qingliangshan ji* may be Huixiang's *Old Qingliang Memoirs*. Now that it is clear that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* preceded the *Huayan jing Memoirs*, this seems plausible. A passage in Fazang's *Tanxuan ji* can be pointed out to support this claim. It is found in Fazang's explanation of the Chapter on the Abode of Bodhisattvas (Pusa zhuchu pin 菩薩住処品) of the *Huayan jing*.

Qingliangshan, this is the Wutaishan in Daizhou Province. Among the hills, there actually is the Old Qingliang si Temple. As it is covered with snow in winter and summer, it gets its name [Qingliang, i.e., cool and fresh]. There are three volumes of memoirs [written] on this mountain and the spiritual signs of Mañjuśrī. Details are to be found there.

清涼山則是代州五台山是也。於中現有古清涼寺。以冬夏積雪故以為名。此山及文殊靈應等有伝記三卷。具如彼説。 [T35, 391a]

Fazang does not name the title(s) of the "three volumes" on Wutaishan and Mañjuśrī's

auspicious signs. Presently, we know of no such book in three volumes. The only monographs on Wutaishan before or around Fazang's time that are extant or found in historical records are the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* by Huixiang in two volumes, and the now lost *Qingliangshang Lüzhuàn* by Huize in a single volume. The two taken together add up to three volumes on Wutaishan. Therefore, as far as can be speculated from available information, it is probable that the three volumes Fazang mentions are those two books, and that he used them as sources of stories for his *Huayan jing Memoirs*. This will also explain the similarity between Fazang's and Huixiang's accounts of the people related to Wutaishan, and the fact that Fazang's accounts are generally more detailed (as they were expanded, possibly with Fazang's own sources of information as in the case of the circulation of Lingbian's exegesis in the capital, and also possibly for the sake of impact on the readers).

### 2.1.2. Mingyao

Let us examine the life story of Mingyao, a disciple of Jietuo, as a possible example of Fazang basing his story on Huixiang's accounts. The descriptions in the respective *Memoirs* by Fazang and Huixiang correspond almost completely with each other. They are not taken from the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* as Mingyao is given only a brief account there within Jietuo's life story. Therefore, from our conclusion above, it is likely that Fazang based his accounts on Huixiang's whose source is unknown. It is interesting to note that the short reference to Mingyao in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* is incorporated into both the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and the *Huayan jing Memoirs* as Jietuo's story omitting the role of Mingyao in the episode. <sup>(33)</sup>

Despite the almost identical accounts of Mingyao in the *Memoirs* of Fazang and Huixiang, there is one difference regarding Mingyao's youth.

#### *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

Shi Mingyao, his family name is unknown. At zhixue, the age to start pursuing learning [fifteen], left the entanglements of the mundane world at so early an age, explored and went in quest of the [Buddhist] Way. Generally he did not have a fixed master. Mingyao resided at Zhaoguo si Temple. He always recited the *Fahua jing*, and read the *Huayan jing*. He practiced daily observation meditations such as the Buddha Light [observation meditation].

釈明曜, 未詳姓氏. 志学之年, 早祛俗網. 問津訪道. 略無常師. 曜, 住昭果寺. 常誦法華, 誦華嚴經. 每作仏光等觀. [T51, 1098a]

*Huayan jing Memoirs*

Shi Mingyao, his family name is unknown. He left his family to become a monk at an early age, went from place to place closely together with Chan Master Jietuo. He attended to his master and colleagues humbly and gently, he never betrayed extreme emotions. He always recited the *Fahua jing*, and also read the *Huayan*....Also, by Jietuo's instruction, he practiced the Buddha Light observation meditation.

釈明曜, 未詳姓氏. 少出家与解脱禅师, 颇同遊處. 而師友事之, 謙撝柔順, 未嘗見喜慍之色. 常誦法華, 又披閱華嚴....又依脱禅师, 習仏光觀. [T51, 169c]

The underlined passages differ between the two. Here, Huixiang writes that Mingyao “left the entanglements of the mundane world at so early an age, explored and went in quest of the [Buddhist] Way. Generally he did not have a fixed master. Mingyao resided at Zhaoguo si Temple” (早祛俗網. 問津訪道. 略無常師. 曜, 住昭果寺). There is a passage that closely resembles this in the account of Jietuo, Mingyao's master, in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*.

His intent was on the way of renouncement, solely on the thought of Chan meditation.

He went in quest of the [Buddhist] Law, there was no master he did not pay a visit to. On returning, he resided at Zhaoguo si Temple in Wutai district.

志在出道唯在禪思. 遠近訪法, 無師不詣. 復住五台縣照果寺. [T50, 603b]

Although the phrases “Generally he did not have a fixed master” (略無常師) and “there was no master he did not pay a visit to” (無師不詣) differ slightly, Huixiang's above cited passage on Mingyao as a whole can be seen as a corruption or a variation of the passage in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*. Both recount the intention of renouncement, going in quest for the Buddhist path, and residence at Zhaoguo si Temple. It is likely, then, that Huixiang's account of Mingyao's youth was taken from the account of Jietuo's youth in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* or based on a common source. We can speculate that Fazang based his account on Huixiang's text, but saw through the confusion and made corrections in his own story.<sup>(34)</sup>

In light of our analysis, a short passage on Wutaishan itself recounted in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and the *Huayan jing Memoirs* is a good example of Fazang's use of Huixiang's text. We will briefly examine this as our last example in this section. The passages given below are almost identical.

*Huayan jing Memoirs*

So today, at the foot of this mountain, there is the local government of Qingliang fu.

On the ridge on the southern face of the mountain is the Qingliang si Temple. It is also



called Wutaishan [mountain with five platform peaks]. Because no trees grow atop any of the five highest mountains, looking like mounds of gravel, they are called *tai* [platform].

故今此山下，有清涼府。山之南面小峯，有清涼寺。一名五台山。以五山最高，其上竝不生林木，事同積土故，謂之台也。 [T51, 157a]

#### *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

Today, there is the Qingliang si Temple on the mountain. At the foot is the local government of Qingliang fu of the Wutai district. This must truly be regarded as ideal. It is also called Wutaishan. Among [the peaks], five mountains soar high into the skies, no trees grow atop any of the summits, looking like mounds of gravel, so they are called *tai*.

今山上有清涼寺。下有五台縣清涼府。此實當可為龜鑑矣。一名五台山。其中五山高聳，頂上並不生林木，事同積土，故謂之台。 [T51, 1093a]

From the texts alone, we cannot tell which is citing which. However, it would be natural to take Fazang's account as being based on Huixiang's as the latter had spent two years on Wutaishan. Huixiang would not have needed to look to sources compiled by someone who had never been to the sacred mountain to base simple statements like this one on.

#### 2.1.3 Results of Examination

From our examination, we may conclude that (1) the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* was written during Gaozong's reign between 679 and 683, and precedes Fazang's *Huayan jing Memoirs*; (2) Fazang probably used the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and Huize's single-volume report together with other sources such as the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* as reference books to write the *Huayan jing Memoirs*. These observations are contrary to Yoshizu's view that (1) the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* was written during the eighth century and (2) that Huixiang based his accounts in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* on Fazang's *Huayan jing Memoirs*. Then what significance does the present conclusion have? Although it may seem contradictory, we can say that it will support Yoshizu's view on Fazang's *Huayan jing Memoirs* as one with a "public nature," having Fazang's politico-religious intentions as background to its authorship. Let us consider this in our final section.

### 3. Tentative Conclusion: The Story of Jietuo and Fazang's View

In this final section, the life story of Jietuo will briefly be examined to show how

Fazang's view of the practitioners from Wutaishan may be seen as limited. Limitation of space precludes a detailed examination in this paper. The author intends to carry out a more comprehensive comparative analysis of the life story of Jietuo between the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*, the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*, and the *Huayan jing Memoirs* as a development and conclusion of this study. Presently, this section aims to offer an overview and a tentative conclusion that can be drawn at this stage.

Life stories of Jietuo in the three texts, the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks*, the *Old Qingliang Memoirs*, and the *Huayan jing Memoirs* are considerably long. Below is a list of the episodes included in the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* which records the longest story [T51, 1095c-1096b].

- (1) Jietuo became a monk young at Zhaoguo si Temple of Wutaishan. His master saw this young monk's huge potential talent and exempted Jietuo from daily chores at the temple.
- (2) Jietuo always recited the *Fahua jing* and practiced observation meditation called Buddha Light (*Faguang guan* 仏光觀) and others.<sup>(35)</sup>
- (3) Jietuo longed to see the apparition of Mañjuśrī, and often actually did. At first, Mañjuśrī would suddenly disappear, but on later occasions, taught him in person. The Bodhisattva said to Jietuo, "Why do you worship me? Practice penitence by yourself and you will surely attain enlightenment." (汝今何須親礼於我, 可自悔責, 必悟解耳. [T51, 1095c])
- (4) Jietuo follows this advice, explores his inner self and realizes the non-production of all things. He rejoices, but then feels shame for his self-contentment and prays to the Buddha to grant him the great heart to save numerous sentient beings. (乃悟無生. 兼增法喜. 遂慨茲独善, 思懷廣濟. 祈誠大覺, 請謹此心. [T51, 1095c])
- (5) Buddhas appear before Jietuo and in one voice chant a verse:

The buddhas' profound teaching of nirvana  
Is attained right this moment after endless practice.  
If the Dharma Eyes are successfully opened clearly,  
All the buddhas will rejoice together.

(諸仏寂滅甚深法 広劫修行今乃得, 若能開曉此法眼 一切諸仏皆隨喜. [T51, 1096a])

Jietuo asks how he can transmit this teaching to the masses, whereupon the buddhas disappear and only their voices remained to chant as follows:

May the Wisdom of Skillful Means be the [guiding] light

To see the condition of the mind.

If you wish to master the True Dharma Nature

Do not see anything.

(方便智為燈 照見心境界, 欲究真法性 一切無所見 [T51, 1096a])

(6) On hearing this, Jietuo reached ever deeper into the profound.

(7) Jietuo once held a rite for a military governor to bestow Buddhist precepts. On his departure, Jietuo wished to perform a ritual of prayers and offerings at the castle gates of burning incense and worshipping the buddhas and bodhisattvas. However, it was almost sunset, and too late to prepare for a ceremony. Jietuo despaired. Then he hears a voice chanting the following verse:

Put your hands together in prayer, and they will be flowers of decoration

Your body will be your offering

The mind is the good incense, burn it and let the smoke spread

Buddhas will see the smoke, and all come to take you to enlightenment.

You followers should make efforts diligently

Do not have doubts or erroneous views.

(合掌為花鬘, 身為供養具, 善心真實香, 讚歎香烟布, 諸仏聞此香, 一時來相度, 衆等勤精進, 終不相疑誤. [T51, 1096a])<sup>(36)</sup>

(8) According to a different source, Jietuo is tested by Mañjuśrī.

(9) After this, multitudes flocked to Jietuo to seek guidance from far and wide that the temple overflowed with followers. Jietuo instructed each one accordingly.

(10) After fifty years of instruction, over a thousand followers fulfilled the practice of Chan meditation. Huixiang writes that if one examines the various biographies, he will find that even the high priest like Huisi of Hengyue 衡岳慧思 or Zhiyi of Tiantaishan 台山智顗 is not Jietuo's equal in instructing the followers to fruitition. Jietuo's level of practice surpassed all, but he mingled with the masses. He must have been secretly supported by the Great Saint [Mañjuśrī] in his boundless salvation of the people. (行位超絕, 俯跡同凡, 必是大聖潛通, 助其弘誘耳. [T51, 1096b])

(11) Fazang's *Memoirs* gives the year of Jietuo's death as the sixteenth year of Zhenguan 貞觀 (642) at eighty-one years of age. The *Tang Memoir* states that it was during the Yonghui 永徽 (650–655). Huixiang does not mention Jietuo's death. Fazang adds a story of a blind lay woman travelling from afar to seek teaching from Jietuo, and miraculously reaching Wutaishan. A similar story, although considerably shorter, of a blind lay woman praying to Mañjuśrī and regaining eyesight is also recounted by Huixiang

following Jietuo's story. However, in Huixiang's case, it has no connection to or mention of Jietuo. We may surmise that Fazang arranged the story of this woman to fit seamlessly and coherently with the story of Jietuo. ([T51, 169b; T51, 1096b])

The three *Memoirs* have minor differences in details, but the overarching story is almost the same (the verse in (7) is not included in the *Tang Memoirs*). Jietuo is depicted as having superior skills in meditation and is taught the truth of non-production (*wusheng* 無生) by the buddhas and Mañjuśrī. The teachings by the buddhas also reflect the teaching of emptiness, non-attachment, and compassion. The verses by invisible buddhas' voices speak of this eloquently. At first, Jietuo longs to see Mañjuśrī, only to be taken aback by sudden disappearances. Then he sees Mañjuśrī and the buddhas in apparition. However, later his practice becomes more profound that he does not see any outward shapes of the buddhas anymore, but only hears the voices. This is significant, because Wutaishan was seen as a sacred mountain of mystical apparitions and miracles, even immortal mystics (*shenxians* 神仙).<sup>(37)</sup> Jietuo's story recounts a world of faith one step deeper than simple worshipping of mysterious phenomena.

However, there is one major difference between Huixiang's account and the other two. The story of Jietuo being tested by Mañjuśrī (episode (8) in Huixiang's account) is lacking in the *Tang Memoirs* and Fazang's *Memoirs*. The story goes as follows.

The Great Saint [Mañjuśrī] tested Jietuo in person. Every morning, Jietuo prepared porridge for the followers. The Great Saint suddenly appeared before him, but Jietuo paid no special attention. The Great Saint spoke to Jietuo in a warning tone, "It is I, Mañjuśrī. It is I, Mañjuśrī." Jietuo answered by saying, "Mañjuśrī is naturally Mañjuśrī, Jietuo is naturally Jietuo." The Great Saint finding that Jietuo's enlightenment is true and real, disappeared never to appear again.

大聖躬臨試驗。脱每清旦為衆營粥。大聖忽現於前，脱殊不顧視。大聖警曰，吾是文殊，吾是文殊。脱応声曰，文殊自文殊，解脱自解脱。大聖，審其真悟，還隱不現。 [T51, 1096a]

This short passage of only four lines in the Taisho Daizokyo, never the less is a climax of Jietuo's story. It is one of the most memorable lines in the whole volume, that we may even say it forms the crux of the First Fascicle of Huixiang's *Memoir*. As mentioned above, it is witness to Jietuo's profound attainment of the truth of emptiness, a wisdom that the Great Saint Mañjuśrī effectively symbolizes.

It is telling that this passage is excluded from Fazang's account of Jietuo. Fazang, after recounting the verse (in episode (7) of Huixiang's account) in which the buddhas' voices

teach that the body and mind of the practitioners form the core of religious rites, goes on to recount the later life of Jietuo instructing the multitude of followers. Can we not say that even without flowers, incense, and material ornaments, religious rites are still based on *form*, whereas Jietuo's ultimate enlightenment depicted in this anecdote (intentionally added from an additional source by Huixiang) speaks of the realm that transcends all form. As we have seen, we posit that Fazang based some of his accounts on Huixiang's *Memoirs*, hence in this case we may imagine he could have used it likewise. Therefore we are led to believe that Fazang omitted this particular story from his *Huayan jing* *Memoirs*. Why did Fazang think this anecdote as redundant or perhaps even inconvenient? When we look back on Fazang's emphasis on the significance of the establishment of the Practice Hall of Huayan (華嚴高座八會道場) by the Empress Wu Zetian, excluding this passage makes sense.

This small episode of Jietuo and Mañjuśrī transcends all nominal, mundane authority (even the Great Saint is seen as an equal of Jietuo, and ultimately as empty). This will be unacceptable to Fazang, as we have seen, according to Yoshizu, that Fazang's aim in creating the *Huayan jing* *Memoirs* was to declare his status as the propagator of the Huayan School which he believed could serve and cater to Empress Wu's politico-religious intentions. Fazang's incorporation into his *Memoirs* of Wutaishan worship, together with other disparate elements with little connection to the *Huayan jing* such as Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva (Dizang 地藏) worship and stories of revival from hell,<sup>(38)</sup> reveal Fazang's interest in catering to the needs of the masses, and ultimately to those of the Zhou Dynasty. We may take note that at the end of the life story of Jietuo, Fazang records that the "present Emperor" sent Huiyi to pay respect to the remains of Jietuo and praises this as a great deed. However, as I have shown in an earlier paper, as this was actually carried out on Empress Wu's initiative, Fazang effectively praises the Empress.<sup>(39)</sup> We can see here that Fazang's intention of his authorship of this work as Yoshizu clarified is already apparent in one of the earliest parts written by Fazang during Gaozong's reign.

As Yoshizu says, although Fazang's *Huayan jing* *Memoirs* lacks any doctrinal discussion of religious theory based on the *Huayan jing*, it is an important piece of work in understanding Fazang's thought. This present study, a comparative analysis of the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* and the *Huayan jing* *Memoirs*, is a humble effort at contributing to that objective. At the same time, this study calls to attention the fact that both these *Memoirs* are spectacular accounts of variously rich and profound ways in which the people of ancient China sought salvation and happiness through a unique and intriguing form of Buddhism in East Asia: Wutaishan worship.

## Appendix I

*Huayan jing* in sixty volumes (Jin dynasty translation)

In the northeast there is an abode of bodhisattvas. It is named Qingliangshan. In the past, various bodhisattvas constantly dwelled there. Presently there is a bodhisattva there, named Mañjuśrī. There are ten thousand bodhisattvas and attendants, [Mañjuśrī] preaches for them constantly.

東北方有菩薩住處。名清涼山。過去諸菩薩常於中住。彼現有菩薩，名文殊師利。有一萬菩薩眷屬，常為說法。 [T9, 590a]

*Old Qingliang Memoirs*

In the northeast there is an abode of bodhisattvas. It is named Qingliangshan. In the past, a bodhisattva constantly dwelled there. Presently there is a bodhisattva there, named Mañjuśrī. There are ten thousand bodhisattvas, [Mañjuśrī] preaches for them constantly. 東北方有菩薩住處。名清涼山。過去有菩薩常於中住。彼現有菩薩，名文殊師利。有一萬菩薩，常為說法。 [T51, 1092c]

## Appendix II

Not long ago during the Yonglong era, a man of Chang'an district in Yong Province, Kuo Shenliang, pure in his brahmacarya, suddenly met his violent end due to an illness. Devas led him to the Heavenly Palace in the Tuṣita Heaven, there he worshipped the Maitreya. A bodhisattva spoke to Shenliang and said, "Why do you not revere the *Huayan* [*jing*]"? He answered, "There is no one who can lecture for me." The bodhisattva said, "There is one, I see him lecturing. Why do you say there is no one?" Afterwards, Shenliang was resuscitated and explained this event in detail to the priest Bochen. Through this, it is revealed that Xianshou [Fazang] turns the wheel of dharma far and wide, succeeding the position [of the Huayan patriarch], versed in the subtle [Truth].

近永隆年中，雍州長安縣人，廓神亮梵行清淨，因忽患暴終。諸天引至兜率天宮，禮敬彌勒。有一菩薩，語亮云，何不受持華嚴。對曰，為無人講。菩薩曰，有人見講，何以言無。亮後再蘇，具向薄塵法師，論叙其事。以此而詳首之弘轉法輪亞迹參微矣。 [T51, 164a]

## Appendix III

*Huayan jing Memoirs*

Despairing of his physical form owing to punishment, also on witnessing the prince burning his body as offering [to the Buddha], he made a request to the Emperor for

permission to go to the mountains to practice [as a monk]. There was an Imperial edict of permission, and at last he took a copy of this *Huayan jing*, worshipped it with penitence, reciting it diligently day and night. At the same time, he prayed for divine support of the One with Auspicious Virtues [Mañjuśrī], not eating grains, drinking only water. After three weeks, although slightly, change of appearance could be seen all over, and suddenly realized that thick beard and moustache grew as before, and his masculine form recovered. His complexion became godly and wise, realizing the profound meaning of this, here, with all his true heart, deepest thoughts and effort, he wrote the aforementioned comprehensive exegesis. On reporting back to the Emperor, the High Founder revered him thereafter, ever the more in wonder as days went by. The *Huayan jing* [worship] became extremely popular.

既自慨形餘，又觀王子焚軀之事，乃奏乞入山修道，有勅許焉。遂齋此經一部，晝夜精勤，禮懺誦誦并心祈妙德，以希冥祐。絕粒飲水。垂三七日，形氣雖微而丹抱彌著，忽感髮鬢盡生復丈夫相。神彩超悟，洞斯幽指，於是覃思研精。爰造前論，始終綸綜。還以奏聞，高祖信敬由來，更增常日。華嚴一經於斯軫盛。 [T51, 156c]

#### *Old Qingliang Memoirs*

Despairing of his physical form owing to punishment, also moved by the prince burning his body as offering, he finally made a request to the Emperor for permission to go to the mountains to practice [as a monk]. Permitted by Imperial edict, he so hereby recited the *Huayan jing*, and practiced for three weeks, praying to meet Mañjuśrī. At last there was divine response, his physical form recovered. Then he was at once enlightened, and wrote the exegesis on the *Huayan jing* in six hundred fascicles. It was comprehensive covering [the sutra] from the beginning to the end. On reporting back to the Emperor, the High Founder's reverence increased ever the more because of this. The *Huayan jing* was always lectured daily, gaining utmost popularity then.

自慨刑餘，又感王子燒身之事。遂奏乞入山修道，勅許之。乃於此處，轉誦華嚴經，三七行道，祈見文殊師利。遂獲冥庇，還復根形因便悟解，乃著華嚴論六百卷，論綜終始。還以奏聞，高祖敬信，由此更增。常日講華嚴一篇，于時最盛。 [T51, 1094c]

#### 【注】

- (1) Yoshizu 1991, 166.
- (2) See Ito 2015.
- (3) I had earlier followed Yoshizu's view [Ito 2014, 21], but later suggested the need for a reexamination of my position [Ito 2015, 1146 in note 4].



- (4) 以乾封二年六月，登於台者，并将五台景官一員，手力四十人及余道俗總五十余人。 [T51, 1098c]. He mentions himself being there such as “The Imperial messenger Wang and I, with a few other monks and lay people were strolling and standing around some ten steps away”其勅使王与余及二三道俗，去其十余步，徙倚環立。 [T51, 1099a], and “On the day I climbed the Platform [i.e., Wutaishan] with the Indian monk, I silently thought to myself...” 余与梵僧登台之日，默而念曰... [T51, 1099b].
- (5) 麟德年中，来儀此土，云向清凉，礼拜文殊師利。 [T51, 1098c].
- (6) 以總章二年四月，正等俱至。 [T51, 1099b]. 余在彼二年，方還京邑。 [T51, 1099c].
- (7) Fazang’s account of the same monk (written 釈迦弥多羅) is only twelve lines long in the Taisho Daizokyo (see T51, 169c-170a), whereas Huixiang’s account, including his own trip to Wutaishan, takes up almost a full page (see T51, 1098c-1099c).
- (8) 忽遇神僧立於巖上。即五体投地，頂礼数拜。及登未遠乃有数人聞鐘声香氣。 [T51, 1099a].
- (9) 以調露元年四月...与道俗五十余人相次登台。 [T51, 1100a].
- (10) There is a statement after praising the trips by Huize of Huichang si 会昌寺会隴 to Wutaishan by Imperial edict during the Longshuo 龍朔 era (661-663): “How could one propagate the intentions of the Sacred Empress (*sheng hou* 聖后) for a thousand years to come?” (何能...千載之後知聖后之所志焉。) [T51, 1098c]. Empress Wu was awarded various titles posthumously after the revival of the Tang dynasty, and *sheng hou* is one of them. This could mean that the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* may have been revised at such a later date. However, Shi Delu, in a paper on the *Old Qianliang Memoirs*, interprets this as meaning the Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu [Shi 2012, 5]. In contrast, Wang Junzhong takes this to mean the Empress Wu [Wang 1998, 11], but he does not take it as a posthumous title. In any case, it is unlikely that Huixiang would unreservedly praise Empress Wu after the abolition of the Zhou Dynasty and the revival of the Tang.
- (11) Ibuki 1987, 33.
- (12) Hatani 1913, 5. Hatani notes that in the *Vast Praise of the Lotus Memoirs*, Huixiang describes the life of Xuanji 玄際 who died in 706.
- (13) Ogasawara 1936, 34. Kamata is suspicious of the authenticity of the story of Buddhapāli and notes that his life story is veiled in legends [Kamata 1999, 380-381; 1981, 329-330].
- (14) Earlier, Ogasawara had speculated that the author of this work may be Huixiang. However, he could not be conclusive owing to lack of data [Ogasawara 1936, 43]. As evidence of Huixiang’s authorship, Ibuki notes the similarity in the style of narrative between this work and the *Vast Praise of the Lotus Memoir* [Ibuki 1987, 34-35]. He then examines the dates and other accounts found in the *Shimen zijing lu* to speculate the period of its writing [Ibuki 1987, 35]. For Ibuki’s detailed analysis of Huixiang’s three books and their relation to the *Fahua zhuanji* 法華伝記, see Ibuki 1987.
- (15) Choi 2003, 194. Fazang cites the same passage in the *Huayan jing Memoirs* with some minor changes to the text: 東北有菩薩住處。名清涼山。現有菩薩，名文殊師利。与一万菩薩，常住說法。 [T51, 157a]. The Tang translation of the *Huayan jing* in eighty volumes shows some small differences in expression: 東北方有處。名清涼山。從昔已來，諸菩薩衆於中止住。現有菩薩，名文殊師利。与其眷屬諸菩薩衆，一万人俱。常在其中而演說法。 [T10, 0241b].
- (16) Others of the same opinion include Fujii 1986, Yamamoto 1995, among others.
- (17) Yoshizu 1991, 167-168.
- (18) Yoshizu 1991, 155. Sakamoto Yukio took note of the biography of Fazang by Cui Zhiyuan 崔致遠 (*Fazang heshang zhuan* 法藏和尚伝) which states that the *Huayan jing Memoirs* was not complete at the time of Fazang’s death, so his disciples Huiyuan 慧苑 and Huiying 慧英

- edited it to form the *Zuanlingji* 纂靈記. For details, see Sakamoto 1956, 22-45; *Fazang heshang zhuan*, T50, 283a. Kamata also noted this. See Kamata 1999, 522.
- (19) Fazang also refers to the Emperor as Gaozong Tianhuang 高宗天皇 in his story of Śikṣānanda which comes shortly after Jietuo and Mingyao's story [T51, 169c].
- (20) Huiyi of Huichang si 会昌寺会頤 is referred to as Huize 会蹟 in Huixiang's work.
- (21) Yoshizu 1991, 151-152.
- (22) Yoshizu 1991, 153; T51, 164a-b.
- (23) Yoshizu 1991, 166-167.
- (24) Yoshizu 1991, 154.
- (25) The text is given in Appendix II. This story of Kuo is erroneously identified in the *Huayan jing ganying zhuan* 華嚴經感應伝 [Shinsan Dainihon Zokuzokyo 77, 628b-c] with the story of the resuscitation of a man named Wang recounted by Fazang in the *Huayang jing* Memoirs [T51, 167a].
- (26) 尽善, 尽美, 暢十善化於無辺....雖漢魏殊感梁齊深信, 亦何足以言乎. [T51, 164a].
- (27) Yoshizu lists twenty accounts of events which happened after Zhiyan's death in 668, among which twelve are later than 683. See Yoshizu 1991, 153-154.
- (28) Yoshizu 1991, 163.
- (29) Huixiang certainly had the *Jinyi ji* at hand while writing the *Old Qingliang Memoirs* as he cites a passage on Wutaishan from it (旌異記云, 雁門有五台山. 山形有五峙, 一台常晦不甚分明. 天清雲散, 有時而出. [T51, 1093a]).
- (30) Huixiang writes: "Huize made a small screen of a picture of the [Wutai] mountain, and authored a brief single-volume memoir. It is said to have circulated widely in the three districts in and around the capital." (以此山図為小帳, 述略伝一卷. 広行三輔云.) [T51, 1098c]. For a more detailed analysis on Huize's trips to Wutaishan, see Ito 2015.
- (31) I have changed 一伯卷 in the Taisho Daizokyo [T51, 1094c] to 一百卷.
- (32) See note 30.
- (33) An episode in the *Tang Memoirs of Eminent Monks* of Mingyao and Jietuo seeing an apparition of Mañjuśrī [T50, 603b] is incorporated into the *Memoirs* of both Huixiang and Fazang as Jietuo's experience without explicit reference to Mingyao [T51, 1098a; T51 169c].
- (34) Although it is possible to speculate that Fazang and Huixiang both based their accounts on the one-volume report by Huize/Huiyi, it is not likely, as Huixiang does not mention it. As we saw earlier in the case of the *Jinyi ji* (see note 29), Huixiang states his source when he is citing directly from another text. Other examples can be seen at T51, 1092 c, 1093a, b, c, 1094a, c, 1095a, 1096a, 1100c.
- (35) The *Tang Memoirs* does not mention recitation of sutras or the Buddha Light observation meditation, whereas Fazang adds that Jietuo also recited the *Huayan jing* [T51, 169a].
- (36) I have changed 善心真実善 to 善心真実香 according to Fazang [T51, 169b].
- (37) See Yamamoto 1995, 63-66.
- (38) See Ito 2014.
- (39) Ito 2015, 1145.

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